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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
789 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death; but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do
177 so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his
781 only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag, as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*xagiyáńăn*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bańsál* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbará* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *baxá* in Isneg.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mueronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*púsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kąddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tónib*), is placed either on a *duyát* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-lukú* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *táxo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*maxadáń*).

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846 On the wound of the navel the Isneg place some soot and a piece
778 of dried bagasse, in order to sear it and to allow the rest of the
umbilical cord to come off easily. The latter (*kázaw*) is then placed
789 in a *táxo-* or coconut shell, some ashes are strewn over it, and the whole is buried either at the place of the afterbirth, or somewaere under the house in case the afterbirth has been buried away from it. It seems, however, that in Bayag it serves the same purpose as that of the membrane just referred to, and that it is rolled up in a piece of cloth and stowed away in some trunk belonging to the parents, to be kept as an amulet in business.

846 The immediate and natural needs of the newborn babe having been
778 attended to, the first concern of the Isneg is to protect the little creature
789 from all possible machinations of the spirits, who seem to have been lying in wait for this new human being to come into the world in order to work their wiles upon it. The Isneg, however, are not backward in finding sure and almost infallible remedies against the machinations of these *anito*, and they usually have the upper hand in this warfare between the world of spirits and that of real men. We have already described how the afterbirth is rendered innocuous or rather how the spirits are obliged to forego all hope of using it as a weapon of offense against the child or its parents; or does the herb that is tied to it force the supernatural world into granting either some of the present wishes of the parents or some of the future ones of the child? Just what is the use of that herb I do not know, and the Isneg will tell you the same; it is the custom, and that is sufficient
[811] in most similar cases. Sometimes explanations are given, and I shall not fail to record them in every instance, but these explanations are very often unsatisfactory, and the connection between a certain practice and the reason why it is said to be performed is very often exceedingly loose, and, at least from our point of view, quite inappropriate.

846 As soon as a child is born in the house, the Isneg take a coconut
789 shell, place some ashes and some water in it, and put it somewhere near the door, at the inside. After that, the first thing to be done, is to forbid access to the house both to the spirits and to people who might bring bad luck to the enriched household.

With reference to the spirits, this is not very hard: there are some objects that an *anito* will never approach even from afar, and provided one knows which object to choose, everything is safe from that side. At Bayag the Isneg place an *ixād* at the door of the house, at

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the outside, immediately after the birth of a child. The *ixād* is an instrument that is used to scrape out the meat of the coconut: it mostly consists of a piece of wood fixed upright in a block of the same material, which serves it as a base, and provided at the top with a small tonguelike blade, sometimes more or less in the shape of a half moon, whose edge has been cut out into a row of teeth like a saw. This instrument, according to the Isneg, looks to the *anito* like a frightful dog, at least at the time of the birth of a child, and no spirit will venture to approach the house, as long as that faithful guard remains in position. At Bolo they stretch a *lásiw* (a special kind of vine) crosswise over the entrance. Elsewhere, and this is the most common practice, a spear is stuck in the ground immediately below the ladder, and around the spear are wound two strips of cloth, one red and another one indigo; this contrivance also keeps the *anito* unmercifully at bay. Whether scraper, vine or spear, this guard remains at the door of the house as long as the child is not able to move freely over the floor of the house.

But the ways and means of the spirits are manifold. Although practically no access can be had to the house on account of the spear or the scraper, as the case may be, it might happen that an *anito* uses his evil influence from afar off or approaches the child or its mother by some other way. Therefore to protect the child, a small portion of black wax (*lilín*) is stuck to the hair of the baby, at the whirl somewhere on top of the head; of this, according to the Isneg, the *anito* are much afraid.

The mother, besides inserting some herbs (*kaddáṭ*), the secret of the shaman, in her headband (*laddóṅ*), never fails to stick a small piece of ginger (*basdṅ*) on the blunt projection (*sáwit*) at the back of the small knife (*ikó*), which she always carries stuck in her headband. The shape of the *ikó* is the same as that of the ordinary Isneg headax (*aliwá*), but the latter is much larger; the upper part of the blade of both the *aliwá* and the *ikó* is prolonged at the back into a comparatively long dull pin. That piece of ginger protects the mother from the evil influence of the spirit *Talomásim*. Indeed, as long as she has to sleep near the hearth, she is liable to become sick (*matalomásim*) whenever she leaves the house, even in the daytime; the ginger, however, whose smell *Talomásim* cannot stand, keeps the latter at bay, and the young mother reënters the house without becoming *matalomásim*.

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones.

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards.

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before.

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby.

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them.

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamusay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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meaning, but is very popular I know of five men called by that name: two at Bayag, one at Dagara, one at Karagawan and one at Baliwanan. 551

2. Names of renowned warriors, *mĕńal* (brave), men who have taken many heads. So a Karagawan boy was called *Mańasó* after a Bolo warrior, although both villages are rather far apart from one another; a Musimut boy was called *Pátań* after one of his ancestors, also a renowned head hunter. Both names have no known meaning. 551 789

3. Names of people who have attained a ripe old age. The Isneg, to use their own expression, "are loath to relegate those names to oblivion" (*inagkekéńa*, from *kéńa*, "alas"). Names of children who have died a premature death are never chosen, at least when the fact of their short lives is known to the interested party; indeed it may happen that in a certain locality a person called by a certain name has become very old, while another one born in some other place and called by the same name has died an early death, and that the people who have to choose the name for a newborn babe do not know of both cases: then of course only the fact known to them is taken into consideration.

At this juncture it should be noted that the same names recur at every step all over the Isneg district: they are probably very popular for one of the reasons given above, and the personality and inherent qualities are supposed to be transferred to the child together with the name. Nevertheless it should not be inferred from this that the Isneg believe in metempsychosis: no such belief exists in the whole Apayaw district. [828]

Just to give a few examples. M stands for "male"; F for "female". 551

Sabadáw (M): at Bayag, Madatag, Pili, Musimut, Nagsimbanan, Kumaw, Agnoan (Kabugaw), Magububung.

Púdo- (M): at Abbil, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Baliwanan, Genned, two at Alumani.

Démdy (F): at Musimut, Dagara, Nagbabalayan, Baduat, Karagawan, Bolo.

Agsdyań (M): at Mayaw, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Nagsimbanan, Baduat.

Alób (M): at Madatag, Dagara, Pasiyab, Nagsimbanan.

Búsiń (M): at Nagsimbanan, Magapta, Bolo, Katablangan.

Kabagiyát (M): at Baliwanan, Kumaw, Karagawan, Bolo.

Lăyldy (M): at Madatag, Musimut, Kabaknan, Bolo.

Asáp (M or F): at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Madatag, Baliwanan, Alumani.

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832 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in
789 magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of
171 the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*burábur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper. and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for
824 love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this infor-
278 mation. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbăy: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomá- and *taññó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

añímud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

añam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórăn, tagiámo and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following recipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tuma-ddy* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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584 583 nection *maxamómān* (or *umuné-*) means nothing else but "to go to the house of a prospective bride and ask the parents for the hand of their daughter", which is done by the relatives of the groom.

At my first visit to Namaltugan, one evening I was sitting on the porch of the municipal building, when a whole group of Isneg, men and women, old and young, all in festive attire and seemingly in very high spirits and full of glee, were seen passing along and directing their steps toward Aputan. When I inquired about the reason for this display, my companions told me that these Isneg were going to the house of a prospective bride in order to make arrangements for a possible marriage in the near future; they were intent on the *amómān*.

This gathering, which always takes place in the evening, and in which a large group of relatives of the future husband take part, is really a very important business meeting. Here, after the completion of the *sumpád* ceremony, they discuss the *tádug* or price that has to be paid to the parents of the girl, the number of years during which the young husband will have to stay in the house of his parents-in-law before returning to that of his own parents, and so on. The bride and groom, however, take absolutely no part in the deliberations. In this connection the *sáyó* herb should be mentioned for the powerful influence it may be able to exert here: indeed if one or more members of the *amómān* party take some *sáyó* (a small creeping herb) with them, the girl will most certainly consent to go over to the boy's house immediately after the final ceremony, and the latter will not be obliged to stay even for a short time in the house of his parents-in-law.

824 189

584 583 The first part of the *amómān* is known by a special name: *sumpád*, and consists in the formal presentation of the boy's suit by three delegates called *patúgān*. Before dark the *patúgān* start on their way to the house of the girl: one of them is always a young woman, as yet unmarried, and she always carries one, and only one, basket full of native sweets of the variety called *binaladdibád* (*ininapát* in some districts). The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát* consists of *dékat* rice, a kind of very oily rice, sometimes known as "red" rice among Americans residing in the Philippines; the *dékat* is indeed very often red, although there are also several varieties of white *dékat*. The *dékat*, pounded into powder or not, is cooked with coconut milk (expressed from the meat of the coconut) and salt or sugar, and wound in woven

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584 strips of palm leaves, so as to form small, more or less brick-shaped
583 blocks.

Another member of the *patúgān* party is an elderly man, who occasionally carries one or more presents for the parents of the girl; these consist of one or more spears (*siñdl*), headaxes (*aliwá*), etc. Sometimes clothes also are given on this occasion: jackets, headbands, blankets, etc.; these are then carried by the woman with the *simbá-*, who will be mentioned presently. These presents, however, are entirely supererogatory and are given only by well-to-do people.

584 The most important of the three is an elderly woman, whether
[789] married or widowed. In no case, however, may she be a *bálo* or widow in mourning, and the reason is not far to seek: such a woman could never bring happiness to the future husband and wife; on the contrary, she would merely serve as an ill-boding messenger and announce ahead of time the early demise of the man in whose behalf she asks for the hand of the girl: her recent bereavement would be a sure presage of the same contingency happening to the girl for
[602] whose hand she sues. This elderly woman is usually the mother of the boy; but in her default, another female near relative may do, for instance, an aunt, a first cousin, etc. If the prospective groom is a married man, his wife or, if he has more than one wife, one of
584 them, plays the role of the third member of the party. The latter
583 carries the *simbá-* (from *tabbá-*, "stringing beads"), which consists of one or more strings of beads. If the boy is of wealthy parentage, the *simbá-* is or are made of valuable beads. But this is not at all requisite: any beads will do, and even the most diminutive string of the smallest and most common variety of beads is sufficient for the purpose. With the exception of this last-mentioned woman, the *patúgān* are usually chosen among those relatives of the boy who are renowned for glibness of tongue, and with reason, as will be seen presently.

On the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *simbá-* by the parents of the girl depends the future of the two young people. Nevertheless a refusal is exceedingly rare, as the repeated nocturnal visits of the young man at the house of his future parents-in-law and his frequent staying overnight and sleeping with his girl, could hardly have escaped notice, and consequently the owners of the house could have notified him of their displeasure, long before such elaborate preparations, as entailed by the *amómān*, were completed on the part of the

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisína* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básī* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisína* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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and the knees. Consequently the *mańlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *baxákat* (girdle), and the *laddóń* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *mańlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *mańlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom. Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *mańlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *mańlakkát's* apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *mańlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (G branch of *Ó* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Dangla (Main branch of *Ó* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *Ó* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch), at Abbil and Dibagat (G branch), and at Talifugu (*Bô* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtalunób*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *zúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowáń*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowáń* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá*[5] usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[6] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítăn*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bańlát*, the *kanúmăy* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáń*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217, fig. 36.

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787 intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the
825 reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, "to start work") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

796 There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful
953 for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Baróyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

784 Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *muláñ*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [18] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

824 An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must
787 try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[18] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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When you have to start a certain work and want it finished quickly, go and look for a little herb, called *tagalárat* in Bayag: it is about five or six inches tall, has comparatively long leaves, and grows almost anywhere. After you have found it, take it along and put it down somewhere near the place where you begin working: in less than no time you will be through with everything.

In order to assure the healthy growth of any kind of plant, before you start sowing or planting, stick some part of a *litáw* in the ground somewhere at the place where you begin. The stem and the leaves of the *litáw*, which is a climbing plant, are both of the same color: they are uniformly green..

When your plants have taken root (*naggamút*), or, which amounts to the same, if they live (*mabīyág*), it is the farmer's duty to see that they become strong. The surest way to obtain such a result is to go and look for a herb, called *tagabílag* at Bayag, and to attach it to one of the plants in question. It causes the whole field or garden to be covered with the most luxuriant vegetation and to produce a growth that can weather almost any storm. The *tagabílag* may be found all over the district: it is rather tall, some ten inches, and bears white flowers and red fruits.

Another herb, called *gátud* at Bayag, of the same habitat as the preceding, but rather low, may be used with profit in connection with the gathering of crops. It should be tied to one of the plants that have to be reaped, and if nothing untoward intervenes, the farmer may rest assured that his soil will yield a most bountiful harvest.

To avoid the occurrence of landslides, which often play havoc not only with plantations, but with dwellings and granaries as well, the Isneg plant *nagbāyúgān* on or near the spot they want to protect: one single plant is sufficient, and it is not necessary to have it multiply. The *nagbāyúgān* is a stout herb, usually some two feet tall: it spreads a very agreeable odor, has comparatively long leaves, and, according to the natives, bears no flowers.

But the enemies of a man's fields and gardens are numerous and powerful: some of them are able to destroy in less than one hour what it has taken you weeks and months to build up. Therefore all Isneg farmers should know who they are and make a thorough study of all the means at their disposal for combating them and protecting the fruit of their labor. The dangers that threaten the life or growth of any particular kind of plant will be treated in their proper place.

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241 Here I shall merely mention those that are of a general nature and liable to attack any kind of plantation.

241 The wild boar (*laman*) is without doubt the enemy par excellence.
136 The Isneg farmer dreads it more thany any other, and not without reason: it respects absolutely nothing, and its depredations are sometimes very great. Next to it you have the deer (*ugtá*), which devastates rice fields, plantations of sugar cane, and the rest. Both these animals prowl about mostly at night, and this makes them the more dangerous, as darkness is their strong auxiliary, while it leaves the field or garden and its owner almost defenseless. The only thing for the Isneg farmer to do is to be diligent in watching his crops. Now and again he must go and visit (*so-bán*) them, and see if any damage has been wrought by roving animals. Should it happen that a wild boar has attempted to enter or has actually entered his field or garden, he must not fail to go on succeeding evenings to lie in wait (*manákar*) at the place where the animal has left signs of its presence, and kill it or at least badly frighten it at its first appearance.

In the daytime you have the jungle fowl (*ditálon, itálon* or *kasí*), which, although less destructive, may easily bring to nought the work of several days, especially in fields that have been sowed recently or whose plants are still very young.

241 Even domesticated animals sometimes imitate their wild forbears:
231 the hog (*ábuy*) and the barnyard fowl (*anú-*) have to be watched almost as carefully as those just mentioned.

241 Add to these the rats, which are often a pest that should be exter-
789 minated at any price.

More subtle enemies, however, are the *arrád*, a kind of green caterpillar that devour the leaves of young plants. The best and easiest way to get rid of them is to place a *lattóń* in the infected field. This *lattóń* is a little jar filled with an assortment of small herbs and covered with a red cloth: it causes the *arrád* to decamp at once and to look for safer quarters.

789 Besides these well-known enemies, the fields have a good many others that are not so easily detected. These are your own neighbors who feel jealous of your prosperity, and consequently practise all kinds of incantations in order to destroy (*sagsaggán*, "to impede the growth") [17] the young plants of your field or garden. These malevolent persons are said to *manadál* (to destroy with the use of herbs, etc.). Paddy affected thereby becomes yellow and dies.

[17] The same term also means "to make a girl pregnant".

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A shaman, for instance, who envies the result of your labor, may pronounce the following words:

"Napiyá no lamúsan náyá kalkaltón" (It would be good if the *kalkaltón* ate it), and these insects will start destroying everything, cutting down not only the tender stalk of the rice, but even the sturdy petioles of the taro.

Or any ill-intentioned person may take it into his head to throw *aníag*-herbs into your fields or gardens. The *aníag* is a very low herb that grows almost in any place, and looks very innocuous; but if it touches any of your plants, these will soon be devoured by a whole legion of rats, wild boars, and the rest. Indeed, this herb proves such a strong attraction to them that the Isneg put it on their *balét*-traps in order to cause wild boars to come along and be caught.

One might easily become disheartened when seeing how easy it is for an evil-minded person to cause the destruction of a field that is most promising; but this should not be so, because you must always remember that the good and kind-hearted spirits have provided you with a remedy for every evil. And so, if you see that there is something wrong with your farm, go and gather *balí-*, a kind of woody vine that grows in the forest and is covered all around with thorns that face the roots. As soon as any part of this vine is placed in your field, it immediately wards off all danger and transfers the latter to the farm of your neighbor. Then it is up to the latter to look out for himself. The same *balí-* has also the virtue to save you from being poisoned: it merely transfers the danger to somebody else.

All this goes to show that the career of an Isneg farmer is not as easy as it looks. Nevertheless he does not seem to mind, and he continues to live a care-free life. In Apayaw, the soil is usually fertile; plots that are exceptionally bad are easily detected by the presence of *anamág*-ferns, which thrive only on ground that is absolutely useless; and rainfall is abundant. Therefore the Isneg is able to raise almost any kind of plants at the expenditure of a minimum of exertion. Should incantations and evil imps haunt him, he has simple means to counteract their influence: his own magical practices and the help of the good spirits, his protectors. One thing, however, is of capital importance, namely his yearly rice crop; if it fails him, ruin stares him in the face.

And so we have come to the most important part of this treatise: rice.

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Ne uwámo pílăy dímo as-assăyán dăyá ammăy dăyá isagaddán[19] (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not lessen the rice of the people).

Ne uwámo ílăy ta batbattuzánnă- (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you be satiating me).

The text of these formulas was given me by men from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch), the last one by *Lampá*, the others by *Púlog*.

Whatever I have said of the *Pílăy* so far applies to the majority of Apayaw villages. Nevertheless in a few agglomerations, the *Pílăy*, instead of being loved and invoked with religious awe, are loathed and execrated by the inhabitants, who do everything in their power to drive them away. This seeming anomaly may be easily accounted for in the following way. It has been said in a preceding paragraph that some *Pílăy* steal rice in order to increase the harvest of their devotees; consequently there must be somebody somewhere whom they are in the habit of robbing, and the victims can do nothing else, of course, but resent it tremendously. Therefore we find Isneg who use this or a similar ceremony in order to make the *Pílăy* decamp: they go to the bushes, near some tree, and, holding a receptacle for lime (*agapúzăn*) in one hand, they recite the following prayer. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), gave it this title:

Makpídut Pílăy (To extract Pilay[20])

[19] *Púlog*, my informant, gave "people, men" as the meaning of *isagaddán*. According to most of my informants, *isagaddán* (never pronounced *isazaddán*) means: members of the Christian tribes, especially the Kagayan and the Iloko; while *ibaññán* means: natives, Isneg. In prayers, however, *isagaddán* mostly stands for "the people who offer a sacrifice, who pray, who seek protection from the spirits". Actually these terms are rarely or never used in ordinary conversation. Now, taking everything into consideration, I cannot help believing that originally the term *isagaddán* stood for something like "the faithful, those who pray, those who offer a sacrifice, the devout, the initiated, etc.", while *ibaññán* meant "the outsiders, those who are invited to a sacrifice, the uninitiated, etc.", and that later on the term *isagaddán* came to be applied to those tribes (Kagayan, Iloko) who were recognised by the Isneg as possessing a culture (perhaps) and a power (certainly) superior to their own, and the term *ibaññán* to themselves. With the advent of Christianity, these terms would then have become obsolete in ordinary speech, and the terms Ibanag (Christians) and Isneg would have taken their place. Even now the term Ibanag for "Christian" is becoming more and more obsolete: to the Isneg of the younger generation Ibanag means Kagayan, and the other Christian tribes are known by their own tribal name.

[20] *Pídut* usually means "extracting the sickness from someone's body". In Iloko *pídut* means "picking up".

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Umarây-âyka[21] *iddí âyo wennó tañtân ta pumânawkañin; no atân din mañikkám a iddí magálitka ma-dín; kásika*[22] *tumáliyin kiyâ- ña nagganâyânmo* (Crawl on this tree or in this small calabash[23] so that you go away now; if somebody takes hold of[24] this you should move;[25] do not come back any more to me from whom you came).

Besides the *Pílây* and some other spirits, which will be accounted for in due time, there are three more protectors of the rice fields in general, namely: *Mazammám*, who helps to guard the *kómân*, *A-néb* and *Parrág*. The last usually resides in the rice field, but he follows the Isneg into his hut (in the field) whenever it rains, and, if his protection is duly acknowledged, he never fails to lend a helping hand to the reapers, so that their exertions may be crowned with success. *A-néb* is a spirit who lives at the edge of the rice field; his influence depends on the attention that is paid to him by the owner of the field in question.

Pokól from Bayag (O dialect) furnished me with the following prayer addressed to the spirits who reside in the *kómân*. While it is recited, rice should be thrown into the field:

Ne ma- maggiyân ki lusâ- ta ma-mágân (Here then, the one who resides in the soil, so that it become good).

Not all spirits, however, are well intentioned; a good many of them are malevolent imps who, if left unmolested, bring nothing but harm to the rice fields in which they have taken their abode.

Again I am indebted to *Dagámi* from Bayag for the text of a kind of exorcism used to drive away evil spirits from the *kómân*. She prefaced it:

Maggiyân ka ómân (Those who reside in the rice field).

Dazâyó maggiyân iyá ómân ña anito magliñádkâyo (You, spirits who reside in the rice field, hide).

Up till now I have only given a few general hints to the Isneg farmer in order to help him in the raising of a good crop of rice. From now on I shall explain in detail how he has to proceed, beginning

[21] The initial U is scarcely audible.

[22] Shortened for *bakkáika*.

[23] Used for storing lime.

[24] In ordinary speech *mañikkám* means "to get the *ikkám*", the amount of rice harvested in one day; here its meaning is much less restricted.

[25] Towards him, leaving me.

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mañumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mañumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami palpalagmán kiyá sipăt năyá inanmăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *zumowáń*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*ńílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

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its preparation. In case he were not, he would be wise enough to invoke the help and counsel of other men, who are always willing to offer their services in this respect.

But I believe I am anticipating, and so let us begin with the beginning. The *taxímmatón* or sign for the *si-dúg* or burning of the fields is the *lumbá-*, a tree mentioned before, when it is covered with fruits. This generally happens in April or, at the earliest, about the end of March.

Should it happen that one of the trees that were left standing in the *kómān*, is inhabited by *Dandg*-spirits, the Isneg, before beginning to burn his field, goes and looks for a *bátań*, a kind of rather large bracket fungus in the shape of an ear, very hard and not edible, that grows on trees. This he hangs somewhere in the tree inhabited by the *Dandg* in question, with the inevitable result that the latter get frightened and either decamp or, at least, leave the owner in peace.

Before applying the torch, the Isneg pronounces the word *sílām* so that all canes and branches be nicely burnt and there remain as little residue as possible. If he fails to pronounce this magic term, he might have to spend several days in gathering and burning the remainder of the rubbish.

Let us now make the acquaintance of a spirit who is a big help to a farmer in possession of a field under clearance. His name is *Alipugpúg* and he occasionally shows his presence in the *kómān* in the shape of a little whirl of wind or eddy (which is also the meaning of his name), that causes leaves and small twigs to whirl around. If he is seen playing in the rice field at any time after the *si-dúg* or burning, this presages a lusty and robust growth of plants. Never forget though that the day following the appearance of this favorable omen must be kept as a holiday: you must stay at home and stop all work, whether you be man or woman.

In case *Alipugpúg* shows himself immediately after the burning of the field, with the fresh ashes turning in a circle, go immediately to meet him and get some of the whirling ashes, applying them to your forehead, as a prophylactic against the headache. Then, on the next day, observe the customary holiday.

And now the Isneg farmer may contemplate with pride the result of his exertions. The field is almost ready for the women to start their work: nothing remains but a few dry half-burnt sticks scattered all around, a few heaps of partly consumed canes of bamboo grass, and

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243 Once the rice field has been abandoned, after the rice has been stored in the granary, the *sízây* also is completely neglected. It is not wilfully destroyed, but it is simply allowed to fall into ruin by decay. The place where such a hut was standing in former times is called *nagsizâyan*.

243 189 Before going over to the next work of importance, the *ballât* or weeding, I shall set down a few rules for the preservation of the field, so that the paddy may thrive, foes may be kept at bay, etc. Some of these rules are of general import for the well-being of the *kómân*, whatever the stage of growth of the rice; others are especially intended for a field that has not yet been weeded. Rules that have to do more directly with a rice field that has passed the *ballât* (weeding) stage will be treated in their proper place.

All Isneg farmers should have an intimate knowledge of the different kinds of amulets that may be placed in a rice field in order to keep it in fine shape, because, without them, their own practical exertions will rarely be sufficient. These amulets are:

Leaves of the *anañá kapónân* (literally: raincoat of the *Kapónân* spirits), a kind of rattan, useless for tying purposes: its leaves are whitish at the lower side, and it grows in forests. One of these leaves, when placed in the *kómân*, strengthens the young palay and causes it to grow up into robust stalks.

The *taza-lig*, a low herb, growing almost anywhere.

The *añgipxípi*, a herb some two feet tall, growing in forested areas.

The *surní-*, another small herb, found all over the district. It also serves for an amulet in the granary.

The *undt anito* (literally: sugar cane of the spirits), a kind of grass resembling sugar cane, but with a very hard stem yielding no sugar. It may be met with in abandoned gardens, and should be planted (living) in the rice field, all around the *sízây*-hut.

Except the *undt anito*, none of these amulets is planted in the rice field; they are simply placed somewhere in the *kómân* and left there to die and to decay. The same rule applies to the amulets that will be enumerated in the following pages, apart from exceptions that will be especially noted.

Other amulets have a medicinal value:

If your palay is dying and threatened with destruction, use the *dalapnât*, a low herb with very small round leaves, growing almost anywhere.

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If the young palay becomes yellowish and dies all over the field, stick *tazañlappúg* (or *tazanappúg*) in the ground. This is the name of the leaves of the *ditán*, a kind of fragrant rattan.

If your rice plants are not looking strong and start withering all around, have recourse to the *sárut*, a herb some six inches tall, that grows in the forest.

Palay whose leaves are becoming dry may be cured by placing a piece of the bark of the *maradanipgá*-tree in the field. This tree, which has very large leaves, may be met with almost anywhere.

Whenever the growth of your rice is bad and is not what it should be, you have the choice between the *anappúl*, a sturdy herb growing in forested areas, and the *balluwát*, a herbaceous vine with a very thorny stem and small leaves, which is found in almost any place. The *balluwát* may be used in two ways: it is either planted (whether it remains alive or dies afterwards has no bearing on its curative value) or crushed and scattered in the *kóman*.

If up till now you have always been blessed with an abundant harvest and you foresee that in the present instance the outcome will be very different, get some *talóbas* from the forest and place it in your rice field, in order to bring back your customary good luck. The *talóbas* is a herb, some eight inches tall, with rather small leaves.

Now let us see what can be done to prevent or to counteract the depredations of animals.

When your palay has been attacked by worms or insects, get some *añlattóñ*, a herb some eight inches tall, bearing white flowers and thriving in taro fields, mix it with *bási*, an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane, and sprinkle this mixture over your field. Worms will die and insects will be driven away.

Should insects have started destroying your rice, use the *láxib* amulet; this is a low herb with small elongated leaves that can be found almost anywhere.

Wild boars are driven away by either of these two: the *palég*, a low herb with small leaves, very fragrant, growing on trees, or the *pádin*, a herb some six inches tall, found almost anywhere, and bearing sweet-scented flowers.

Should a deer have come repeatedly to browse in your paddy, call a shaman and ask her to come to the rescue. She will fetch some *rixad* herbs, place them in a very small *báña*-jar, and twist three strips of cloth, one red, one black, and one white, around the neck of the jar.

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243 Then accompany her when she goes to place it in your field: the next
787 time that deer comes again, it will die inside your *kómān*.

The *sakórāń* is a section of a bamboo stem that has been split at the top into many narrow strips, which in turn have been spread open so as to take the shape of a funnel. A *sakórāń* is very often stuck upright in the center of a rice field in order to frighten away wild boars and deer. It is even more effective if you furnish it with an herb, some twelve inches tall, also called *sakórāń*, and growing in forested areas.

131 The worst enemy of your field, however, is the locust (*dódon*; young
787 locust: *annón*), and this subject needs a more extensive treatment.
243 Swarms of locusts have infested the district, every four or five years, ever since the occupation of Apayaw in 1913, and whenever they pass at the time of the year when rice fields are clothed in green, which is usually the time when they do, it means famine for the country. These pests clip the paddy (*ratudán*) as nicely as a lawn mower, so that nothing remains but the *ratúd* (what remains after the grass has been cut close to the ground), and the field is *naratudán*. What has been left untouched is called the *íńāb* of the locust.

Everybody knows that prevention is better than cure, and so, in order to save your field from the alighting of the locusts, whose presence has been ascertained in the district, make immediate use of one or both of the following amulets: the *anódon*, a creeping herb found in almost any place, which, when placed in the *kómān*, prevents it from alluring the locusts; leafy branches of the *alsít*, a hesperidious shrub bearing small bitter fruits, not larger than a fingerlet, and growing in forests: when stuck in the soil of your field, they keep the locusts at a distance.

In case they are already very near, you may have recourse to either or both of the following expedients:

Place some *tagága* (Bayag pronunciation) in your field to prevent them from alighting. The *tagága* is an asclepiadaceous vine, clinging to trees, and much used for decorating purposes: its opposite leaves growing close together on both sides of the stem give it the appearance of a thick ribbon, deeply indented all along its edges.

Go and put *takkír álig* [35] in the place where the locusts are for the moment, so that they fly away out of your own neighborhood. The *takkír álig* is a low herb that grows in forests.

[35] Literally: with which the *álig* drives away its companions. The *álig*-bee is supposed to keep ants at a distance.

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Should they come along anyhow, either through negligence on your part, or because you have been taken unawares, as soon as they start alighting in your field, take a *balandán*-blanket,[30] thrust one of its corners in the end of a long pole, which you have split for the purpose, and erect this improvised flag somewhere in your *kómān*. The higher the pole the easier it will be to frighten the locusts away. If there is no pole at hand, tie the blanket to the top of one of the trees that have been left standing, provided it be a tall one. This stratagem is called *magdattág*.

Once the locusts have taken possession of your rice field, the only way to drive them off is to throw *aksumég* (Bayag pronunciation) among them: this is a low herb with small hairy leaves that grows all over the district.

Here in Apayaw the Isneg do not live close enough together to be able to imitate the inhabitants of other parts of the Mountain Province, where large groups of people, equipped with small nets, go to attack the enemy. But, after all, these expeditions are rarely very effective, and usually the only result, perhaps the most important in the eyes of the improvident natives, is the catching of a large amount of viands without any cost and with comparatively little trouble. The Isneg also considers a locust as a dainty and may for a few days look with dry eyes on the disaster that has been wrought in his beloved *kómān*, only to expiate later on by a prolonged fast the few happy hours of satiated gourmandizing

But let us revert to our rice fields, and see how the Isneg tackles the problem of defending them against the jealousy of his neighbors, who either use natural means to destroy the paddy, which they rarely dare to attempt, or resort to occult powers to play havoc in a *kómān*, which is of much more frequent occurrence.

If you mix the barks of the *pannó*, a forest tree, and of the *karrán*, a leafless plant, some twelve inches tall, growing in forests (the name means "scaring away"), and place this mixture in your field, the person who ventures to harm your crops, will die instantly and without any previous illness, as soon as he gets home.

If, instead of the barks, you use *annoná*, a low herb growing in forests, the villain will be killed in an accident.

Now it may happen that you think about it only after some harm has been done already. In such a case insert a *binusíran*, a kind of

[30] Indigo, ornamented with purple thread at the seams.

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243 754 *mandíi* bead,[27] in the soil of your *kómān*, and very soon the culprit's eyes will become swollen, so that he cannot hide his guilt any longer.

243 789 If you happen to know that your enemy is the owner of the field next to yours, the best way to take your revenge is to place *da-líg-* herbs in the patch of uncleared ground that separates both your fields: after that his crops will be tampered with instead of yours.

These are the plants which are the most frequently placed in a neighbor's *kómān* with the purpose of injuring the rice crop:

The *agdadál*, a climbing plant, that grows in thickets of bamboo grass, and bears white flowers resembling those of the *pulút* (a middle-sized forest tree) and brown fruits: it renders a rice field absolutely valueless. The name itself is indicative of the effect it produces: "destroying".

The *taxa-siyát*, a creeping herb, found on level ground: placed in a neighbor's field without his knowledge, it allures noxious animals to come and ravage the crop.

The *anappudappúg*, a low herb, found in abandoned gardens: it causes the rice to *magdappúg*, "stop growing and die".

The *dalañidáñ*, a low herb with yellowish leaves, growing almost anywhere: it causes the young paddy to grow yellow and wither.

The *assáp* or *kassáp*, another low herb with the same habitat as the preceding: it causes the death of the palay in the whole field.

Here is a rather innocent means to get the better of one's competitors: the *battoál*, a little herb that grows in forested areas and bears white flowers, when placed in a *kómān*, causes the latter to yield a better harvest than a contiguous field. This amulet is obviously of no value to isolated *kómān*.

3. WEEDING AND SUBSEQUENT CARE OF THE RICE FIELD

243 In the months of July and August we have the *agbablát*, which means "the time of the *ballát*, the time of weeding". At this time of the year the young palay is cleaned thoroughly, lest it be choked by useless weeds (*kaddát*). Plants that start sprouting only after the *ballát* has been finished will never be able to catch up with the growth of the paddy, and so will do it no harm.

With the *umá* (clearing), followed by the *si-dúg* (burning), and the *toonó* (planting), this is the most important work that precedes the

[27] The *mandíi*, which is a very precious kind of bead, at least in the eyes of the Isneg, has the shape of a small cylinder consisting of two almost equal parts, one of them more or less blackish, and the other of a much lighter color.

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825 The *pāyakán*, a kind of winged ant, that builds its nest preferably in clusters of young bamboo grass. This insect is edible, and even considered as a dainty by the majority of the Isneg.

The *ag-agammáy*, a kind of mantis, mentioned before. If you get hold of it at the time of the *ballát*, take its neck between your fingers, turn it with the legs upwards, and say: "*Pizá ya ammáy-o* (How much palay will I have?)." If it moves one leg, it means *mǫ́po* (one hundred *isiń*-bundles); if two legs, *duwá ńǫ́po* (two hundred bundles); if it moves all its legs, it means *annám ńǫ́po* (six hundred bundles). One hundred *ńǫ́po* is *matúńal* (ten thousand bundles).

796 At this time of the year one should beware of the spirit *Dalánap*, who kills people during the *agbablát* (weeding time).

243 789 As soon as the weeding is over, place some *ibasán* in your field, so that the paddy grow up into sturdy and robust stalks. The *ibasán* is a kind of grass that resembles the sugar cane, but yields no sugar, and grows in abundance all over the district.

After that make a minute inspection of the whole field, and cut down all weeds that may have been overlooked. This second cleaning is called *manábal*, a term also used to mean "putting the finishing touch to the *umá* (clearing the ground)", as has been mentioned before.

The *agbablát* (weeding time) is followed by the *dawdáwat*, when people occupy themselves with the weaving of baskets (*magláza*). Although this business may be accomplished at any time of the year, nevertheless the period that elapses between the *agbablát* and reaping time, is the most suitable, and consequently it has been set aside by custom for that kind of work, and it has been given a special name: *dawdáwat* or *aglaláza*.

All through the *dawdáwat* a diligent Isneg does not fail to *magso-bán* (a term never used for the same kind of work done before weeding time) or go and see if perchance some palay has been harmed through one cause or another. Indeed from now on everything depends on the vigilance of the farmer, as a legion of enemies are ready to pounce upon the field, especially at the time the ears begin to form. But let us not anticipate.

When the paddy is about half grown, it is advisable to place some *apniyán kapónan* in the field, in order to cause the rice to reach its full height quickly and also to keep away harmful insects. The *apniyán kapónan* is a kind of rattan whose bark is reddish and whose leaves are very white underneath.

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If some stalks of palay at this same stage of growth seem affected by the heat of the sun and threaten to wither and die, plant a *ratúb* in the middle of the field and everything will come out all right. The *ratúb* is a kind of headless *bólo*-bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), namely one that was found headless before it was cut, for instance one whose top had been blown off by the wind.

Should the paddy be very weak and a good many stalks have fallen down already, put some *xánăy* among the latter, so that they will rise again and be able to ear at leisure. The *xánăy* is a sturdy kind of grass that grows in forests and reaches a height of two yards; its leaves are covered with hair and comparatively very broad.

Palay that is overhanging a path along the field, without being protected by a fence, should be kept upright by means of a *săysáy*, which consists of bamboos tied at a convenient height to a few sticks stuck in the ground, at regular intervals, all along the path. The *săysáy* prevents the rice from being spoiled, for instance by being trampled upon by passers-by.

In order to cause the paddy to flower quickly, it is advisable to place *amusabúsa-* in the *kómăn*. This is a grass that grows in the forest and is some fifteen inches tall; its leaves are red underneath, and its inflorescence resembles those of the ditch millet and of the joint grass.

As soon as the ears start flowering, wrap a *pantád* in a piece of cloth, and tie it to the first flowering palay you come across. The *pantád* is a kind of branchless madrepore that must be fetched from the seashore.

When preparing rice pudding at this time of the year,[1] a part of the same should be offered (*pisi-*) to the spirits, while reciting the following prayer. The text was given me by *Umilá* from Abbil (O dialect).

Ne ma- awámo abulbulón ditálon ta día umad-adamní kiyá ómănko (Here then, this is yours, companion of the jungle fowl, so that you be not approaching my rice field).

The Isneg distinguish four stages of the rice when it is earing, namely:

Mazabu-sít: "To be pregnant" (also said of animals), when the ears are still covered, but their presence is already clearly apparent.

Mazabótog: when the ears are peeping out, but as yet without spreading.

Nabuyág: when the ears are spreading and ready to flower.

[1] [i.e. weeding time, August -- Analyst]

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243 *Nadâtag*: when the whole field is covered with ears and the palay
1789 is beginning to ripen.

From now on new enemies are making their appearance, and it is the duty of every Isneg farmer to know them and to learn how to frustrate their evil-intentioned endeavors.

The first to appear at this season are the stinkbugs, who empty young ears of rice by sucking out their milky grains. These bugs, when numerous, are able to ravage within a short time the most promising field of palay. When you remark that your paddy *maxalixa* (is attacked by stinkbugs), get a bamboo tube of *bási*-beer, *aúlattáń*-herbs, and a small chick, mix the *aúlattáń* with the *bási*, place the tube and its mixture somewhere in the center of your *kómăn*, and tie the chick next to it. After one night go and bring back the chick, which must remain alive, and leave the tube where it is. This is a sure remedy against stinkbugs and their depredations.

Then we have several kinds of rats:

The *dasság*, a large rat, resembling a vole or field mouse, but with a long tail; it lives in the bushes, and is very destructive.

The *du-măg*, another large vole or field mouse, said to be a spirit, which, when very big, the Isneg are afraid to kill.

The fruits of the *pa-li*, a kind of slender and very hard spiny bamboo; when dropping on the ground, these fruits change into mice, not larger than a finger, and completely destroy the neighboring fields.

To exterminate these pests, get *latúb*, a low herb that may be found almost in any place, and put a whole plant somewhere at the foot of one of the rice stalks. With this one *latúb* the whole field will be protected, and all rats and mice that dare gnaw any of your palay will be killed.

243 After the rats come the birds, two kinds of which are especially
857 destructive:

The *ballit*, a very small passerine bird with a short white bill and brown-red plumage; it is very gluttonous and usually appears in large flocks.

The *sigkarán* (so called from its cry), also a passerine bird, and almost as much be feared as the preceding.

To frighten them away, scarecrows should be put up all through the field. Any kind will do: old rags, long strings stretched over the paddy, empty tins making noise when moved by the wind, etc. But

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these are rarely sufficient, as the birds are usually very numerous and they soon get used to what they feared at first. So the only real remedy consists in watching the field and driving the birds away by shouting (*makasáraw*), by throwing missiles at them, by pulling strings that set scarecrows in motion, etc. This is of course a very tedious process and it would take much valuable time, were it not that it can be done by the children, without any trouble on the part of the parents, except that of going now and then to see if the youngsters are not napping. The latter, however, generally enjoy this kind of a job, and get lots of fun out of it, the more so that they usually find leisure to obtain an occasional dainty, either by hunting for it in the near-by forest, or by pilfering it from an adjoining garden. Besides, they are rarely alone, and a group of Isneg boys and girls is never at a loss to find amusement in some kind of game or play, in order to fill up the time between an occasional shout, the throwing of a pebble, or the pulling of a string connected with scarecrows. The latter contrivance is one of the most convenient, as it allows the watchers to lie down, when they grow tired: the only thing for them to do is to attach the end of the string to one of their toes and to move the leg from time to time.

It also happens that the ears of rice are attacked by the *duńgali*, a kind of smut fungus; but fortunately this occurs very rarely and always in rather isolated cases, which is probably due to the Isneg system of farming: fields that are scattered and are never planted with rice twice in succession.

Finally we have the most cunning of all foes, man.

A passer-by may become envious of your splendid crop and, full of spite at your prospective luck, nip (*maybu-sil*) one of the young kernels, without detaching it from its ear. Such a proceeding causes the *kómān* to be ravaged by birds.

Or a woman who has little rice herself, may be coveting yours, and stick some *aúrappút*-herbs in your field, pouring coconut oil all around them. In this way she causes your palay to disappear and to be lost to you.

When damage has been done in your rice field by evil spirits, you should go and plant a spear in it, offer *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) and pray:

Italná-ko ya orúńān ta dumálo ya atoná dăyá mańrawát (I drive the shaft [of a spear] into the ground so that the poison of the destroying spirits gather here).

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243 782 415 Then the *síxăy*-hut has to be looked over, and if anything is wanting, it must be brought in. In each *síxăy* there should be a *dapúg* or hearth, with fire (*apúy*), but no taxâñ (three stones for supporting cooking utensils), as no cooking is done there.

A mortar (*altóñ*) and one or more pestles (*alló*) must also be present, but the former may find its place at the outside.

Before the harvest begins, the following objects have to be brought to the *síxăy*:

The *subná-*: a bunch of betel nuts and one of betel leaves (no lime). The *subná-* is put down on the floor of the hut, near the fire, and every day, as long as the harvest lasts, some part of it is used for the *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) of the spirits.

A *patuxáw*: a large basket (ordinary type: square bottom, round rim) for storing the *xúput* or immature rice and the rest, that has been collected in the *arín*-baskets of the reapers, mentioned above. It is placed near the fire, and people are absolutely forbidden to walk over it, on pain of causing the spirit (*kaduduwá*) [29] of their rice to leave and to go over to someone else's rice. At each meal eaten in this hut, at harvesting time, the Isneg place *inapúxăn* and a few ears of palay in the *patuxáw*. This basket is not removed from the *síxăy* till after the harvest, when the *inapúxăn* it contains is thrown away, and the palay is roasted over the fire, pounded and eaten.

Last but not least, the *aligmamán*. Strictly speaking, the *aligmamán* is a small basket of the ordinary type (square bottom, round rim), and is of daily use for storing betel, lime and so on. In the *síxăy*-hut, however, it is used for storing amulets, and the name *aligmamán* is given to any kind of small basket, whether the *aligmamán* proper or some other one, for instance the *sinalimbáñ*, which is a kind of small fancy basket of different shapes, made from sundry materials, and consequently rather ornate. At the beginning of the harvest, and later on, at any time, as long as palay is being cut in that particular field, amulets are placed in the *aligmamán*, so that very soon there is a whole assortment of them. They may be chosen from the following list:

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Xippaxippáw: A kind of herb placed in the *aligmamán* on the first day, before any reaping has been done.

Karráñ: A leafless plant, mentioned before. A whole basketful of these is placed in the hut on the morning of the first day of the

[29] The same term is used for the spirit of man.

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harvest; it is thrown away when the palay is transferred to the granary.

Pamaldóń: A low herb with small leaves, found almost anywhere, to be placed in the *aligmamán* at the beginning of the harvest.

Barăyábăy: A kind of herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forests. Wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed in the *aligmamán*, it dispels rain.

Mámaw: A kind of herb, some two feet tall, with red leaves. When placed in the *aligmamán* with the preceding (not wrapped), it causes rainfall. If you wish the rain to stop, throw it out.

Burińgŏt: A herb that causes the reaping to go on nicely.

Dugsú-: The dayflower (Commelina sp.). It increases the harvest.

Xaddáto: A low herb, found almost anywhere. It causes the increase of the palay that is being reaped.

Doxódog: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in the forest. It causes the increase of the palay.

Paxăypáy: A mosslike plant (Selaginella sp.). It causes the increase of the palay that has been grown.

Aboká: A low herb, with yellow flowers, found in reedy areas.

Alipánăy: A low herb, growing in forests.

Anipńúd: A low herb, found in the forest.

Áńgoáń: A kind of grass, whose stalks never grow close together.

Áńdy: A low herb, with comparatively long leaves, to be found in forested areas.

Apigpigkó: A kind of creeping herb, with small orbicular cuplike leaves, growing all over the district.

Apitpít: A low herb, found in gardens.

Asu-ráw: A low herb, with needlelike leaves, found in reedy areas.

Leaves of the *bádo taxokó-* (literally: "coat of the *taxokó-*", a bird): A middle-sized forest tree; the leaves are red underneath.

Balsáńan: A herb, some five inches tall, found in the forest.

Barániw: A kind of herb.

Basáńal: A creeping herb, with small red leaves, found in gardens.

Bawigăn (Bayag pronunciation): A low herb, bearing only two leaves, red underneath; it grows all over the district.

Binakág: The sunflower (Helianthus sp.).

Daxádag: Rice straw, remaining on the field after the harvest.

Dalimpáxo: A herb, some twenty inches tall, with small red flowers, growing almost anywhere.

Daraará-: A herbaceous vine, found in almost any place.

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Doxinây: A tall herb, growing in forested areas.

Kaddát agnâyan (literally: herb of the spirit *Agnâyan*): A small flowerless climbing herb, whose leaves look as if they were withered and dry.

Kaddát dalaxétân (literally: herb of the *dalaxétân*-bird): A low herb, growing almost anywhere.

Lixawás: A low herb, growing on river banks.

Liplipáw: A kind of herb.

Lumlumây: A low herb, found in grassy areas.

Maraawíg: A creeping herb, with yellow flowers, growing anywhere.

Marabarâyábây: A creeping herb, with very thick small leaves, found all over the district.

Maradaúraw: A herb, about two feet tall, with large leaves, growing in almost any place.

Maradíla: A creeping herb, with small tonguelike (hence its name: *díla*, "tongue") leaves, and small white flowers, growing on river banks.

Opépat: A very small herb, with white flowers, growing in rocky places.

Opépây: A shrub, with small shiny leaves, found in forests.

Paxaútúd: A low herb, with white flowers, growing all over the district.

Paxatpát: A creeping herb, with small shining leaves, climbing over rocks and stones.

Palabní: A very low herb, growing in the forest.

Parbuwây: A kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Patâyag: A herb, some ten inches tall, growing almost anywhere.

Pawpáw: A kind of forest tree, resembling the mango tree, but with fruits smaller than the cultivated mango.

Pâyáw: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing almost anywhere.

Puútân: A low herb, found in the vicinity of brooks.

Sisxixáwan: A kind of herb.

Taxalôpit: A herbaceous vine, found on river banks.

Taxasidát (Abbil pronunciation): A creeping herb with red-and-green leaves.

Takkág or *sakkág*: A kind of schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), differing from the *nito* (another Lygodium), especially in its uselessness for binding purposes.

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Takkág líńān or *kaddát líńān* or *kaddát ińáto* (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned.

Talló: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Taśtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdadn*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *sízăy*-hut.

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1]

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalád: *Inapúzān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúzān* in the *sízăy*-hut the next day.

Aúrizád: Increases the palay. Women often dreám about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińnúd: Lives in the *sízăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamíyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimán: *Inapúzān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e. harvest time in December.--Analyst]

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Xinuúdăn: Is driven away at the beginning of the harvest, lest he come to measure the receptacles for palay, and the latter dwindle.

Magkáwăy: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Magwáñag: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Nappiyá: Spirits living in the rice field.

Palpálăd: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Punáy: Resembles a bird. *Inapúxăn* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Sían: A companion of Pilay, at the time of the harvest.

Síbo: A good spirit; always accompanies the women when they are reaping, rain or sunshine.

Sildádo (from the Spanish *soldado*, "soldier"): Spirits resembling horses. If children play boisterously near the house, these spirits will cause the death of one of them.

Sípá: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him in the rice field, on the first day of the harvest.

Sipúút: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him, on top of the house ladder, at the beginning of the harvest.

Taxokó: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

A nameless female spirit living at the *Nanánan* brook, behind the mountains, on the opposite bank of the Apayaw river from Bayag. She counts the palay while wearing a raincoat; as soon as she is approached by any of the people who live there, she disappears.

When everything is in readiness, the Isneg proceed in the following way.

First of all, a pig is sacrificed, while a *dorarákit* or shaman *mazaníto*, "communicates with the spirits". During this ceremony, a leaf of the betel (*zawád*) is torn up and one of its shreds, called *binurían*, is placed near the hearth. One of the animal's legs (*lótub*) is placed in a small *báña* (earthen pot used for cooking rice, etc.), and the latter is put down on the floor of the granary (*álaś*).

The following prayer, whose text was given me by *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch), is one of those that are recited during this sacrifice. The spirit is supposed to pronounce the words through the mouth of the shaman.

Mapáñko pĕ ya dordorerémăn yo maggiyán kadăyó isayaddán,[43] *to*

[43] Cf. footnote 19 supra. I think that the following free translation of this prayer comes very near to the meaning intended by the Isneg: I come to take my abode amongst you, my faithful people, lest you be bewitched by the other spirits (or: by the Christians).

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243 782 789 *mañsiñta pĕ ña mabalsiān kiyó am-ammowán dăyó ilañitān*[43] *ña isagaddán* (I shall go now to approach residing among the Christians, as we are afraid now to be made sick through the knowledge of the heavenly Christians).

Once this indispensable business has been duly attended to, an old woman, not necessarily a shaman, makes ready to arrange the *pinudóñ*, which will be explained presently. Before leaving the house, she offers rice pudding to the Pilay-spirit who resides on the *páza*-shelf above the hearth, and recites the following prayer, called *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits):

Ne uwámo ilăy ta batbattuxámmo ya an-añá-o, uwăámmo ka mabtúgda péyañ (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you satiate my children, make that they be always satiated).

The text of this prayer was obtained from *Uwil*, a Bolo man (O dialect, Main branch).

The same woman also takes a little of the new rice that has been toasted over the fire, and puts it in a small *bakóba-* (a dry calabash used for storing rice). Then she places the latter near the hearth, where it has to remain indefinitely; that rice is never eaten. The calabash with its contents is called *indág*.

In the meanwhile, a man has gone to bar with a *sarañásañ* the path that leads to the *kóman*, in order to warn all passersby not to approach the reapers. This barrier remains from three to five days, after which it is removed together with the taboo. There are two ways of building a *sarañásañ*:

One consists in placing two or three bamboo sticks spaced one above another, across the path.

The other way consists in fixing a single bamboo stick, provided at one end with an ax (*parakól*) and at the other end with a hatchet (*aliwá*), across the path.

At about 5 o'clock in the evening, the old woman proceeds to the field (*mañútud*) taking along the following objects:

A *damáxan*, a small basket, round and almost spherical.

A leaf of the *táraw* palm (a fan palm, probably a species of Livistona), that serves for a cover to the *damáxan*-basket.

One or more sections of *bulálaw* or *bokáñ* (two varieties of sugar cane).

A bunch of *takkág*-ferns, mentioned before.

[43] *Láñit* means: sky, heaven; *ilánit*: resident(s) of the sky, heaven, a class of spirits; *ilañitān*: heavenly, beautiful, majestic, etc.

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Some *namandandn* or sea sand, of which a certain amount is always kept in the house.

One internode of a *túboń* cane filled with sea sand. The *túboń* resembles the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, but its leaves are larger.

A few amulets that will be mentioned presently.

After she has arrived in the rice field, she places the *túboń*-internode filled with sand in the *sízăy*, and the *damázan*-basket with its cover and its contents of *takkág*-ferns, together with the sugar cane, behind the *sízăy*-hut. Then she goes to the stalks of rice that grow next to the *sízăy* and sprinkles them with the *namandandn*-sand.

Others, instead of sea sand, use *rabráb*, "sand gathered at the source of a brook"; in which case they wrap it in a piece of cloth, cut one stalk of rice, and tie both cloth and stalk to one of the posts of the *sízăy*.

In other places again, they use a *tupáń*, which consists in the lower section of a *túboń*-reed, whose upper part has been removed by accident, and whose hollow has been filled up with sand without the help of man. This they tie, by means of *takkág*-ferns, to a stalk of palay, together with the other objects that will be mentioned presently.

After the sprinkling of the rice with sand, the woman *marapaapág*, that is, she ties one or more of the following amulets to the nearest stalk of palay, at its base, using *takkág*-ferns for bands:

Inapúzăn, never omitted.

A-mám: A kind of hard black lichen growing on wet rocks.

Ańinamáy: A kind of herb. It is used with both palay and maize, and causes them to last long.

Taximbáńon: A kind of amaranthaceous plant, one yard tall, with dark-brown leaves, red underneath. It is extensively cultivated for ornamental purposes.

In case the woman happens to own more than one rice field, a stalk of palay is provided with *inapúzăn*, *takkág* and the rest, at the corner of each field. After the harvest, the ears of these stalks and the three bundles (*bgttá-*) that will be mentioned presently, are bound together by means of *takkág*-ferns, and placed in the granary before all other palay. This belongs to Pilay, it is the spirit of the rice; and, whenever an old granary is abandoned for a new one, Pilay's property is transferred to the latter. Even though it may have accumulated into a comparatively large amount, it is never consumed but always transferred from one granary to another.

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243 782 787 Each of the stalks just mentioned, and also each bundle (*battá-*) made from their ears, are both called *pinudóú*. The same name is also applied to the *damázan*-basket and the rest, behind the *sizáy*-hut. This third variety of *pinudóú* is prepared in the following way:

When the old woman is through with the ceremonies at the first stalk or palay, she harvests three small bundles (*battá-*),** and brings them behind the *sizáy*-hut. Here she lays the sugar cane on the ground, and superimposes the *damázan*-basket filled with *takkág*-ferns, among which she has thrust the customary *inapázan*. Then she arranges the three bundles of palay around the basket in such a way as to keep the latter in the middle.

I shall give here the names of a few more amulets, some or all of which may be used in this connection:

To be placed in the *damázan*-basket:

A *paggá*, a small brown pebble from the river; never to be omitted. After the harvest, when the palay is transferred to the granary, this *paggá* is put in a small *bánga*-jar, and placed in the granary. The same pebble is used every year for the same purpose, so that it is not necessary to get a fresh one from the river.

Tazalítau: A plant mentioned before.

To be tied to the first of the three *battá-* (bundles of the *pinudóú*):

An *abatbattág*-insect wrapped in a piece of cloth. This is a very small brown wingless insect that moves along jumping.

Amsiń: A low herb growing all over the district.

To be tied to, stuck in, or placed on the *pinudóú* (stalk, bundle or palay behind the hut):

Ańńodón: A herb some twelve inches tall, with white-and-blue flowers. When placed on the *pinudóú*, it brings heavy rainfall.

Ammodońón: A creeping herb with small white flowers, growing in the forest.

Ańigúc: A herb some four inches tall, found in forested areas.

Balásań: A kind of herb not growing at Kabugaw.

Dómžy: A low herb with small leaves, found all over the district.

Inindaggán: A plant, some four inches tall, with five or six red leaves, and flowers hanging down; it grows in dense forests.

Inugláy: A low herb with very small leaves and spiny fruits, growing almost anywhere.

** Four *battá-* equal one ordinary bundle or *ásá*. One hundred *ásá* or four hundred *battá-* equal one *dópu*.

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Marabatónit: A herb, some five inches tall, with white flowers; it resembles the globe amaranth, but has smaller leaves.

Takkág líñān: A plant mentioned before.

Tóyuq: A very tall herb with white flowers and red fruits, found almost anywhere.

Turátud: A plant mentioned before.

One or more of the following amulets may be placed in the *sízāy*, on the floor:

Lábni: A herb, some five inches tall, growing in forests. It increases the palay.

Ambág: A herbaceous vine with white flowers, found all over the district.

Labiyáñ: A low herb growing in forested areas.

Besides these, another amulet may be placed at random somewhere in the rice field, namely: the *maradúra-*, which is a herb some six inches tall and grows in forests.

While the old woman offers the *inapúzān* to the spirits, at the time of the preparation of the *pinudóñ*, she recites one or more or the following prayers. The texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch).

Ne uvám anddyo maggiyán ka tasaluzaqtáp ka ñódq (Here, this is yours, Andayo, who reside in the [visible] sky above).

Iápuqko ikáw ñilñilá dapán ta umad-adāyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Yellow-soled [spirit], so that you be going away).

Iápuqko ikáw maggiyán ka íli lizáyan ta dína- balbalsiánan (I offer betel to you, who reside at the town of Ligayan, so that you do not make us sick).

Iápuqko ikáw maggiyán ka laáy ta iddánā- ka bitté- ammáy (I offer betel to you, who reside at Laay, so that you give me a little rice).

Iápuqko ikáw alindodóāy umáñmo ipóāy ya sinotónmo ña ammáy (I offer betel to you, Alindodoay, come and drop the rice you carried on your head).

After the completion of all these ceremonies in the *kóman*, the woman comes back home.

In Apayaw customs differ with regard to the time and the circumstances in which reaping is begun in earnest.

In most places, the Isneg start on the morning following the *pinudóñ*-ceremony, and reap palay for about an hour. The next day, they remain in the field until noon; and after that, they stay the entire day: this lasts until all rice has been cut.

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Isneg reapers usually provide themselves with amulets, which they place in their *túput* (pouch) tied around the waist. The following are noteworthy:

Leaves of the *banítug*, a kind of forest tree with smooth leaves and white flowers, whose fruits and young leaves are edible. They prevent the bearer from feeling the pangs of hunger.

Katálin: a herbaceous vine with thick leaves, growing on the banks of rivers.

Palamían: a low herb, found almost anywhere.

Other amulets may be placed on the *bañíbāñ* (heap of rice) in the *síxăy*:

Aúimăy: A low herb, with small leaves and very hairy fruits, found all over the district.

Basáñal: A creeping herb, mentioned among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket.

Binóāg: A low herb with white flowers, growing in forests.

Iput butít (literally: rat's tail): A grass, some two feet tall, probably a species of Setaria,[82] found almost anywhere. It keeps the rats from playing havoc with the palay.

Xippaxippáw: Also mentioned among the *aligmamán* amulets. This herb is placed somewhere in the hearth, before the *bañíbāñ* has attained a considerable size.

Panápil: A low herb with round leaves, growing all over the district.

Thorns of the *surni-*, a plant mentioned before. It bears seeds that point downwards (hence its name: "turned the wrong way").

A *tutúxan*, a kind of round red bead, must be placed under the *síxăy*-hut and covered with a stone.

The following amulets prevent the people from consuming a large amount of rice, when taking their meals at harvesting time:

Anampát: A creeping herb growing along brooks. It resembles the Bermuda grass, but its leaves are larger and greener. The Isneg wrap it in a piece of cloth and tie it around the *bakóba-* (calabash for storing *baggát*, "husked rice") or around the neck of a jar that contains the rice.

Tagalobná- (Bayag pronunciation): A herb, some six inches tall, with small leaves, found almost anywhere. This also is placed on the receptacle for rice.

[82] The Italian millet belongs to the same genus

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261 The *anibgán*, a herbaceous vine with small leaves, growing all over 789 the district, is used as an amulet of the new rice pounded during the harvest.

252 And this leads us to the question of the *inixúbān* or roasted immature rice.

New rice is never pounded in the regular way, before reaping has been going on for several days and before *inixúbān* has been partaken of; and in many cases *inixúbān* is the only new rice that is eaten until the end of the harvest. It is of so much importance that reaping time is often referred to by the Isneg as the time of the *inixúbān*. At the same time, the natives consider the *inixúbān* as a kind of dainty: everybody, the adult as well as the child, eagerly awaits the season in which he may indulge in the roasting and eating of new rice, almost in picnic fashion.

The immature paddy and the detached ears and branches of ears that were gathered by the reapers in their *arín*-basket (tied at their girdle), and have been stored in the *patuxáw*-basket (in the hut), form the bulk of the palay used for roasting. To these are added all *bàttá*-(bundles) that were not sufficiently ripe to be exposed to the sun and stored up with the rest. All these are known collectively as *xúput*, before the roasting, and *inixúbān*, afterwards.

To prepare *inixúbān* or to *maúixub*, as the Isneg call it, the following things are needed: fire, which can always be got from the hearth, inside the *sixāy*, a certain amount of fuel, a *taddó*, and two *duwág*.

The fuel used at this juncture, invariably consists of *pattár*: dry canes of *bassáw* (bamboo grass, Miscanthus sinensis, Andr.) or of *sial* (Saccharum spontaneum, L.). Neither wood, nor any other material is allowed for the purpose.

The *taddó* is a kind of square basket, woven very clumsily from splints of green bamboo. It serves as a receptacle for the paddy that is held over the fire.

The *duwág* are two forked sticks, used for manipulating the *taddó*.

When the *xúput* has been roasted sufficiently, it is placed in a mortar (*altóú*) and pounded with a pestle (*alló*). The first time the *altóú* or mortar is used for pounding *inixúbān*, it must be provided all around with *takkág*-amulets (schizaeaceous ferns mentioned before). Besides, it is advisable to mix another amulet with the rice, namely the *ama-ba-nát*, which is a low herb and grows in forests.

Pounding is followed by winnowing (*magsáp*). When *inixúbān* is winnowed for the first time, the Isneg take some *do-ráw* (straw, what

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remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *balâwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busiŋán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of púdding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *baríbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Baríbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Baríbarī matugtugkíkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. --Analyst]

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243 call it an *ápit*,[63] have recourse to the following expedient: when you
789 prepare *inapúxān*, do not take leaves of the betel pepper (*xawád*), but use young leaves of the *tabbág* (a species of Ficus) instead; this will cause your palay to increase notably.

When all your paddy has been reaped and the *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay) in your *síxăy* (hut) is complete, so that you are *nadanág* (all your fields having been harvested), you are allowed to cut the *dogdógo* (Bayag pronunciation), which consists of a certain amount of palay that has been left standing near the *síxăy*.

The *xañgán* (called *láda* in some districts) or palay that was left standing here and there all over the field, because it was not yet ripe when the reapers came along, may be cut (*tudtúdan, magtudtúd*) later on, as soon as it has matured sufficiently. A part of the *xañgán*, however, must be abandoned to animals and spirits; to cut it all, is tabooed.

243 As soon as the harvest is over, a new set of spirits come on the scene:
782 these are principally the *Daraxámi*, who knock on the *síxăy*-hut at night, when people are sleeping inside, so that the latter very often dream about them. Then there is *Maxablây* or *Xinablây*, who is fond of killing people at this time. An appropriate prayer to forestall the latter's machinations is the following. Its text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko iyáw xinablây ta dínaami al-aluwây (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Ginablay, so that you do not cut off any part of our body).

At this time of the year, the Isneg usually offer (*magpísi-*) food or *inapúxān* to those spirits that are most likely to exert some influence over them, whether for good or for evil. When such an offering is made at home, in the village, one or more of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko adaăyó idammán ta dídaami umán sidsidúñān (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, our enemies, so that you do not come under our house).

Iápugko adaăyó abulbulón magkálap ta dínaami tagtagōnoñán (I offer betel to you, companions of those that get products from another district, so that you do not reduce our sustenance).

Iápugko adaăyó ña aníto ta tagapōliyánnu nídí an-aná- ta masăyánkami no pagbíli ni uyína (I offer betel to you, spirits, so that

[63] The *ápit* is the amount of rice or of Indian corn that is reaped in one season, provided it be abundant; if scanty, it is never called an *ápit*.

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each end a pole (*isiw*),[69] which they carry on their shoulders (*mañagtó*).

Before starting on their journey, the carriers insert a few *dáziń*-herbs in the straw of their load of palay, in order to keep them from all harm. This is not a vain precaution, as there is at least one of the numerous evil spirits in existence, namely *Nasígu*, who is especially fond of annoying people who carry rice from the *síxăy* to the *álań* (granary). If he finds them unprotected, he gives them a thrashing by means of a stick which he is always carrying.

As soon as they arrive at the place of the granary (*álań*), the women empty their baskets and the men untie their loads, after which all bundles are piled up under the granary (*magdaligpán*).

Before the Isneg store their palay in the granary (*magpintá-*), they attend to the following:

Besides a few objects that ultimately find their place in the granary, as the *pinudóń*, the amulets taken from the *síxăy*, etc., and that have been mentioned before, they put inside:

Amintakkán (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): A low herb with very small leaves. It is placed on the floor of the granary.

Daŋaará-: A vine mentioned before among the amulets of the *ăligmamán*-basket in the *síxăy*-hut.

Inóá: A kind of herb. It is tied around one of the posts, inside the granary.

Pannó (literally: fullness, filling), mentioned before among the amulets of uncut paddy. This amulet causes the granary to be filled with rice.

The *pamintakkán* (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): The *pamintakkán* is a *battá-* (one fourth of an *ćsiń*) and the first of the rice just brought in that is introduced into the granary. It is provided with *takkág*-vines (schizaeaceous ferns, often mentioned before) and *tagaŋŕabón* (called *tagarabón* at Bayag), which is a kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, with very small leaves and white flowers, that grows in rocky places, along rivers and brooks, and prevents the rice from being consumed quickly. The *pamintakkán* is placed in one of the two corners of the granary that are farthest away from the door.

When the time has come for storing the palay in the granary, the owner, the man, climbs inside, and his wife, standing outside, hands

[69] A pole used for carrying loads between two persons is called *búlig*.

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him the bundles. Nobody else is allowed either to hand it in or to pile it up inside.

In a few places, however, either one of them, the woman or her husband, enters the granary, and anybody is permitted to handle the bundles outside; but the person who started piling the palay inside, must continue the work until it is concluded: nobody else is allowed to interfere.

When *inapúzăn* is offered to the spirits at this time, the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko iáw iwazán ta umáńnă- sidúńăn (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Iwagan, so that you come under my house).

Iápugko iáw xinadúlan ta umáńnă- tazasinnán (I offer betel to you, Ginadulan, so that you come to look after me).

Iápugko iáw pílăy ta umąńnă- pańitagtágkélăy ka ammáy dató adú wa ammáy (I offer betel to you, Pilay, so that you, limping, bring me rice from the large heaps of rice).[70]

Iápugko iáw duńgali ta umáńnă- pagpíli kadató ammáy atoní (I offer betel to you, Dunggali, so that you come to let me choose from the large heaps of rice there).

Iápugko iáw paluggatáń ta abulonánnaami (I offer betel to you, Paluggatang, so that you be our companion).

Iápugko iáw ańlabbán ta tarâyannă- ka ballán (I offer betel to you, Anglabbang, so that you prop me up with palma brava timber).

Iápugko iáw bákat ta ipa-bágmo to sóńăn[71] (I offer betel to you, Bekat, so that you give me[72] tuskers).

Iápugko iáw da-nág ta bakkámmo ta-bán dăyá álig (I offer betel to you, Da-nag, so that you do not cover the *álig*-bees).

My informant, *Băydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch), told me that these eight prayers were pronounced consecutively when storing rice in the granary, when cutting off the head of a dog in sacrifices, etc. The last three, however, and perhaps a couple of others, seem to have nothing to do with the rice crop.

The Isneg always tie some *takkág* (schizaeaceaus ferns) around the *lappó* (literally: thigh) or thick part of one of the four posts of the granary, below the floor, in order to increase the palay stored up there.

[70] Rice you stole from those that have much rice.

[71] *Asóń* means: tusk of wild boar.

[72] In answer to my prayer. *Ipa-bág* from *tabbág*, "answering".

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243 There are a few other amulets that may be placed on the palay in
789 the granary, at any time:
782 *Aggassip*: A low herb with white flowers, found all over the district. It causes the rice to last long.

Amagpaggán: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, growing in forests.

Anaxupgá: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, red flowers and brown fruits. It is found in the forest and, placed in the granary, helps the owners to economize their rice.

Anúgag: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Indág: A low herb, found almost anywhere.

Rakkód: A herb, growing all over the district.

When all the rice has been garnered, a small *báña*-jar containing rice pudding is placed in the filled *álaá* (granary), as an offering to Pilay. It is called *túxan*, the same name as that of the food brought to the reapers by a man (*manúxan*) from the village.

Finally the Isneg close the door of the granary and provide it with *talkóg*-ferns and *adás*-sedges (Scleria sp.), at the outside.

III. The Isneg Garden

241 The garden or *kadánan* is a plot of ground where some time in the past rice has been grown. No garden plants are raised on virgin soil; rice always precedes them. Sometimes the *kadánan* has already served that purpose for one or more years, sometimes it is merely a *kómān* or part of a *kómān* from which rice has just been harvested.

Except for the necessity of having palay precede all other plants, the possibility or probability of raising successfully some special kind of plant on a given plot of ground is the only determinant for the choice of a garden plot. The Isneg merely studies the nature of the soil and its adaptability to the growing of certain products, according to his own experience or that of his elders.

The Isneg garden is always surrounded by a fence, either the usual one (*tabút*) or, in case the man is too lazy to make a regular fence, the *baiakkagát* (strips of bamboo stuck in the ground at both ends so as to form a series of arches).

To prepare a garden, the first thing to be done is to clear the ground (*mañadánan*). When the garden is built on level ground, this work is called *maxónat*, just as in the case of a *kómān*. If the garden is new, that is, if it is made from a rice field that has just been harvested, the bulk of the weeds consists of *daxádag* (rice straw) or *sápi* (after-

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hole, and the latter is provided with one part of a yam; after that the hole is filled up with earth. Almost any part of a yam, even parings, may be used for planting: the center, however, and the entire lower part are useless. In the case of *lo-tó*, usually the upper half of the tuber is thrust into the hole.

When the first yam has been planted and the hole duly filled up, the Isneg cover it with the half of a coconut shell, whose center has been cut out. No such precaution is taken with the subsequent ones.

When the vines die, this is a sure sign that it is time to dig up the tubers (*magsíkaw*; sometimes: *magtaggáp*, also said of gathering taro rhizomes). To cause the yams to last long, the Isneg woman places *takkág líñan*[1] next to the first yam she meets, when starting her work, and leaves the latter in the field: a practice similar to the one that is observed at the gathering of taro rhizomes. In the same way, if the first yam that is dug up, happens to be a small one, not a single large one will be found that day; therefore, it is best to stop the work and go home: the next day may bring better luck.

The number of yams varies from plant to plant, but it never exceeds five.

7. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE ISNEG GARDEN

Here follows a brief enumeration of the vegetables (*taxílpá*) and other plants that are raised in the *kadánan* of the Isneg.

The *antá-* (Vigna sinensis [L.] Endl.), cowpea. Its green pods (*bísi-*), dried seeds (*bokál*), and young shoots (*otón*) are used for vegetables.

The *ítāb*, *ábas* or *tañíñi* (Phaseolus lunatus, L.), Lima bean.

The *ampilán* (Dolichos lablab, L.). Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *balátón* (Phaseolus radiatus, L.), green gram.

The *pallá*, *pallán* or *pallát* (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus [L.] DC.), asparagus bean. Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *maséti* (Cajanus cajan [L.] Merr.), pigeon pea.

The *sińkamás* (Pachyrrhizus erosus [L.] Urb.), turnip bean or yam bean. Cultivated for its fleshy roots; its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *amaní* (Arachis hypogaea, L.), peanut.

The *karabása* (sometimes wrongly called *kalabása* or *labása*; from the Spanish *calabaza*), (Cucurbita pepo, L.), squash or pumpkin. Its

[1] [a type of vine, see p. 337. -- Analyst]

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corn, but here it is usually reenforced with a *balakkuwit* (hoops of strips of bamboo).

Tobacco is sown in January or February, transplanted in March or April, and picked in April or May.

Tobacco seeds are sown (*magbonóbon*) in a small plot of ground set apart for the purpose. While the seeds are sprouting and the seedlings (*bonóbon*) are growing, the Isneg have ample time to prepare the field (*magbakáń*).

Besides the observation of the size of the seedlings, the natives possess a *taximmatón* or sign for transplanting tobacco in the ripening of the small red fruits of the *diñánay*, a herbaceous vine found all over the district.

When the time for transplantation has come, the seedlings are grubbed up (*magba-dút*) and brought to the *bakáń*. Here they are thrust into holes (*magtuná-*) bored in the ground mostly by means of the *itutuná-* (dibble). Whenever possible the Isneg women use *itutuná-* made from *tálań* (pitch pine), because its sweet odor is supposed to influence the aroma of the tobacco.

One or more of the following amulets should be placed next to the first seedling (*bonóbon*) that is being transplanted (*magtuná-*):

Apnás: A very low herb with round leaves; it grows almost anywhere.

Aróro-: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small glossy entire leaves; it is found in rocky places.

Dalimag: A low herb; it grows in gardens.

Branches of *subráy*, a shrub with yellow-and-green leaves; it is cultivated for ornamental purposes.

Taxibáñon (incorrectly *taximbáñon*), *tagabáñon* (Bayag pronunciation) or *báñon*: An amaranthaceous herb, some three feet tall, with dark-red leaves, light-red underneath. It is cultivated for ornamental purposes, and planted (not simply placed) next to the first *bonóbon* in order to cause the tobacco leaves to take on the same hue and the stalks to grow strong. The same names sometimes refer to another amaranthaceous herb with small leaves of different colors, red, green and white, also cultivated and used for the same purposes, ornamental and magical.

To protect the tender seedlings from the scorching heat of the sun, they are covered with leaves of the *anitáp*, or, in places where the *anitáp* is taboo, they are surrounded by short sections of canes of

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bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitáp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappiddn* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappiddn* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakdú* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *dañlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimúñay (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padáyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dáyawan*) the tobacco.

Dqlúyāg: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrás* to drive them away. The *amrás* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakán*, for instance the *daméro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers.

The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *andy*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *palávug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. These brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 574 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one

jar of *basi*, a small pig, and a small dog. When all their visitors had arrived, their house was not able to accommodate all the people. Their sister, whose name was Hinalingan, came out from their house and said. "Oh, *anito*, I pray to you that my house will become big so that it can accommodate all my visitors." After uttering this wish, the visitors could see the house becoming bigger and bigger until all of them were accommodated. 789 574

The older brother, by the name of Hinadolan, went near the stove and said, "I pray to *anito* that all our food will be prepared." Not long after that all the food were prepared. Then they distributed the rice and other food.

After eating, the dance started. It was led by a young brother, named Imlang. Imlang took his sister, Hinalingan, and began the dance. While Imlang, and his sister were dancing, their visitors were surprised to see that they were like birds flying in the air. It was because their feet did not touch the floor; but they were dancing in the air. After the dance, they ate again. Then after all had eaten, it was found that not even half of the food prepared was consumed by the people. Now the feast was over and their visitors returned to their homes.

Three nights after the feast, one of the men from among their visitors came with his father. After they arrived, they were entertained by the brothers and sister who asked what was the purpose of their visit. The man replied that he loved Hinalingan and wished to marry her. Courtship was followed by the marriage ceremony. The couple lived happily with the brothers after that. 584

THE PREGNANT WOMAN

000 There were two brothers, Dinkoan and Linadolan; and two sisters, Dommaria and Lananan. While the two sisters were bathing in the river, it happened that they saw a burning bundle of rice. It was like puffed rice; so Lananan ate some. The burnt rice had been thrown into the river by Enoy, who was taking a bath above them in the river.

684 836 [152] When the brothers found out that their sister was pregnant, they were ashamed, and they decided to put her in the thick forest. So they took her to gather bark for G-strings. As Lananan gathered the bark of a tree for the G-string, it became cloth; but the bark which the brothers gathered remained bark. When they saw this, they became jealous and asked her for some cloth. She did not like to share the cloth; so all the rest became angry and ran away from her. She shouted and shouted; but no one answered her. She kept hunting for the way to go home; but could not find it. At night-fall she found a flat stone on which she slept.

789 After sleeping a few hours, she awoke and saw several fine houses nearby and there was a fire burning. When she looked further, she saw a number of granaries full of rice. She entered one of the houses and found a stick of sugar cane. She peeled it, cut it into pieces, threw them out the door, and prayed: "May each of these pieces become a pig." They did so. Thus Lananan become a rich woman.

000 Her brothers became very anxious to see her, as they missed her. They asked their cousins, Ewagan

She
chewed betel nut and threw it out of the window praying: "Some of you will turn into fat pigs and other animals so that there will be many animals for the feast." 842 [789]

The people came to the feast and marveled at the wonderful house which was constructed better than any man could fashion it. The two brothers and the sister made a generous agreement and explained to all the people how the woman became pregnant and that the boy was really the son of Enoy. They were all satisfied.

BEBEROCA

Beberoca was a *anito* who could change himself at will, and he ate people. One day he found many people fishing in the river. He suggested to the people: "You do not have to work hard to make that dam to turn the river. Just stop and I will lie down and be the dam." The people were pleased and got to one side. Beberoca lay down so that the water was turned aside, and the people picked up many fish. For several hours he lay there. But suddenly a crab bit him on the head. It startled him so that he jumped up. The water came on the people, and they were all drowned and were washed away down the stream. 776

Since he got no people there, he went on up stream. While on his way, Beberoca met several women and asked them: "Why are you fishing like that? It is too hard. I will help you." The women were glad and Beberoca lay down. The water became less and less. The women took many fish. After several hours, a crab bit Beberoca on the back; so he yelled: